

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
 SS-15 USIA-06 AGRE-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10
 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 STR-04 MCT-01 DHA-05 EB-08 COME-00
 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /144 W

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 209

INFO USUN NEW YORK 319

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 6352

EO 11652GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, PL

SUBJ: UNGA CONSULTATIONS

REF: STATE 205678

1. SUMMARY: THE CHARGE REVIEWED THE UPCOMING UNGA WITH STANISLAW PAWLAK, DIRECTOR OF THE MFA'S DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. ALL OF THE ISSUES OUTLINED IN PARAS 9 THROUGH 12D OF REF WERE RAISED, AND COPIES OF SPEECHES AND OTHER MATERIAL MENTIONED IN REF WERE DELIVERED OR CITED. PAWLAK EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EXCHANGE AND GAVE PRELIMINARY GOP REACTIONS TO MOST ISSUES. NO SURPRISES SHOULD BE EXPECTED FROM THE POLISH DELEGATION AT EITHER THE RESUMED 31ST SESSION OF THE 32ND REGULAR SESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL - PAWLAK SPOKE SEVERAL TIMES OF THE IMPORTANCE HIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO THE UN, NOT ONLY AS A FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, BUT ALSO AS AN INSTITUTION FACILITATING BILATERAL CONTACTS. AS A GENERAL PROPOSITION, THE GOP SEES THE UN AS THE MOLDER OF PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES COVERING INTERNATIONAL
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RELATIONS AS DISTINCT FROM A VENUE FOR DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS. THE POLES WILL THEREFORE RESIST EFFORTS TO TURN SUCH AGENDA ITEMS AS CIEC FOLLOW-UP INTO SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS ON UNRESOLVED ISSUES. AS FOR THE 32ND SESSION ITSELF, PAWLAK OUTLINED THE FOLLOWING GOALS AND PRIORITIES OF THE GOP:

A. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN EAST-WEST DETENTE, OR
"RELAXATION OF TENSIONS," AS THE POLES PREFER TO CALL IT;

B. USING THE UN TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN "CONFLICT
AREAS" SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE
HORN OF AFRICA;

C. PROMOTION OF DISARMAMENT IN GENERAL AND THE SOVIET
RESOLUTION ON NON USE OF FORCE (NUF) IN PARTICULAR;

D. PROMOTION OF THE NOTION THAT THE ACCORDS SIGNED IN
HELSINKI REPRESENT THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS RATHER THAN
IMMEDIATELY REALIZABLE COMMITMENTS;

E. ENCOURAGEMENT OF A MORE ACTIVE UN ROLE IN DEALING
WITH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS;

F. ACHIEVEMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL REFORMS
OF THE UN SYSTEM.

PAWLAK SAID THE POLISH DELEGATION WILL TAKE NO INITIATIVES
AT THE REGULAR SESSION, ALTHOUGH IT MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY
ON THE SUBJECT OF NON-PROLIFERATION. THIS IDEA IS STILL
BEING DISCUSSED INTERNALLY, HOWEVER, AND HE WAS NOT
SURE WHAT FINAL FORM IT MAY TAKE.

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3. IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC US POSITIONS, AS SKETCHED
OUT IN REF'S TALKING POINTS, PAWLAK OFFERED THE FOLLOWING:

A. MIDDLE EAST - THE POLES AGREE ENTIRELY ON THE
IMPORTANCE OF A RECONVENED GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, BUT
THEY ARE LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN BEFORE THAT A MEETING CAN
TAKE PLACE ANY TIME SOON. THEY SEE THE REPRESENTATION OF
THE PLO AS THE CRITICAL ISSUE, AND RECENT STATEMENTS AND
ACTIONS BY ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BEGIN DO NOT AUGUR WELL
FOR THE FUTURE.

B. CYPRUS - THE GOP SHARES OUR DISAPPOINTMENT THAT NO
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT HAS COME OUT OF
THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS THIS SPRING. THE DEATH OF
PRESIDENT MAKARIOS HAS FURTHER COMPLICATED MATTERS. THE
POLES WILL SUPPORT THE SOVIET INITIATIVE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE TO DEAL WITH CYPRUS.

C. RHODESIA - THE GOP IS NOT ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN RHODESIA,
BUT IS FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY AND WILL PROBABLY HAVE
A MORE SPECIFIC REACTION TO THE US POSITION BY THE TIME THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OPENS. MEANWHILE, WARSAW STANDS BY ITS

EARLIER GENERAL SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA.

D. APARTHEID - THE IS IS SEEN AS A MORAL ISSUE. PAWLAK SAID THE GOP IS AGAINST APARTHEID AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND THEREFORE DOES NOT AND WILL NOT HAVE RELATIONS WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. DESPITE RECENT DISCLAIMERS FROM PRETORIA, THE POLES STILL WORRY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS MIGHT DEVELOP A NUCLEAR WEAPON.

E. NAMIBIA - AS A MEMBER OF THE CONTACT GROUP, POLAND WILL BE ACTIVE IN DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM. ITS UNGA DELEGATION WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT SWAPO AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. PAWLAK SAID HE COULD NOT YET RESPOND TO OUR REQUEST FOR SUPPORT IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PREVENTING CONSIDERATION OF ANY MEASURE WHICH COULD ENDANGER THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS.

F. DISARMAMENT - ALTHOUGH PAWLAK SAID HE COULD NOT COMMENT IN ANY DETAIL ON THE SUB ISSUES (SPECIAL SESSION, NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS (CAT) AND CHEMICAL WARFARE) UNDER THIS SUBJECT, HE DID SAY THE GENERAL TOPIC OF DISARMAMENT IS ONE OF MAJOR INTEREST TO THE POLES. HE RELATED IT TO DETENTE, POINTING OUT THAT POLAND'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING DEPENDS ON THE STATE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THE DEGREE OF MUTUAL TRUST MANIFESTED BY THE SUPER-POWERS. TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS TRUST IS TRANSLATED INTO A REDUCTION IN ARMS EXPENDITURES, POLAND AND THE WORLD AT LARGE WILL BE ABLE TO ADDRESS PRESSING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES. THUS THE GOP WILL SUPPORT THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, EFFECTIVE CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROHIBITION, AND THE SOVIET RESOLUTION ON NON-USE OF FORCE. UNLIKE THE US, THE GOP DOES NOT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 6352

BELIEVE THE PROPOSED TREATY IS REDUNDANT AND UNNECESSARY.
ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS, THE POLES ARE IN FAVOR
OF A REDUCTION, BUT ARE MUCH MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE
SPRDN OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

G. PUERTO RICO AND GUAM - IN ADDITION TO THE TALKING
POINTS PROVIDED, THE CHARGE USED THE OCCASION TO COMPLAIN
ABOUT RECENT POLISH PRESS TREATMENT OF THE PUERTO RICAN
ISSUE. PAWLAK SAID HE COULD NOT COMMENT ON WHAT HIS
DELEGATION WOULD SAY ABOUT PUERTO RICO AT THE FORTHCOMING
UNGA, BUT EXPRESSED HIS "PERSONAL" OPINION THAT THE ISSUE
HAS LOST SOME OF ITS URGENCY IN RECENT MONTHS. HE
LISTENED TO THE POINTS MADE ON GUAM AND SAID HE COULD NOT
RESPOND EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE ISLAND IS A LONG WAY FROM
POLAND.

H. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS - AS A PARTY TO
UN CONVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE GOP SEES NO NECESSITY
FOR ANY NEW MACHINERY OR INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGMENTS. THE
ESTATNISHMENT OF A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
WOULD SIMPLY CREATE A NEW AREA OF FRICTION AND WOULD BE
INCONSISTENT WITH POLAND'S DESIRE FOR A MORE EFFICIENT
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UN MACHINERY. PAWLAK SAID THAT IF THE US IS SINCERE IN

DESIRING A NON-ACRIMONIOUS 32ND SESSION, WE MIGHT RECONSIDER
THE NEED FOR THIS INITIATIVE. THIS COMMENT LED TO A
LENGTHY EXCHANGE ON THE WHOLE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS,
WHICH PERMITTED THE CHARGE TO REITERATE THE IMPORTANCE
ATTACHED TO THIS SUBJECT BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS
ADMINISTRATION.

I. DECADE AGAINST RACISM - PAWLAK SAID THE GOP
UNDERSTANDS OUR OBJECTIONS TO EQUATING ZIONISM WITH
RACISM, BUT BELIEVES UN DECADE ACTIVITIES ARE TOO
IMPORTANT TO BE SIDETRACKED BY THIS "SECONDARY" ISSUE.
THE GOP SUPPORTS DECADE ACTIVITIES AND WILL CONTINUE TO
PARTICIPATE TO THE EXTENT OF ITS MONEY AND OTHER RESOURCES.

J. TORTURE - THE POLISH POSITION IS NOT YET FIXED. OBVIOUSLY THE GOP IS AGAINST TORTURE, PAWLAK SAID, BUT HAS NOT MADE UP ITS MIND ABOUT A UN WORKING GROUP TO MONITOR ALLEGED TORTURE.

K. UN MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET - PAWLAK SAID WE SHOULD HAVE FEW TROUBLES FROM HIS DELEGATION ON MOST OF THE SUB-ITEMS UNDER THIS TOPIC. HE SAID THE GOP IS VERY DISTURBED OVER THE STRUCTURAL INEFFICIENCIES OF THE UN, ITS RUN-AWAY BUDGET, THE PROLIFERATION OF CONFERENCES, AND EXCESSIVE SALARIES. HE SAID HIS DELEGATION WILL PROBABLY RESIST CHANGES IN THE CHARTER DESIGNED TO STREAMLINE THE ORGANIZATION, BUT WOULD PRESS INSTEAD FOR STRICTER DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT UNDER THE PRESENT INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT, IN GENERAL, HE SAID, ANY CHANGES THAT WOULD COST HIS GOVERNMENT MORE MONEY WOULD PROBABLY BE RESISTED. HE SAID HE WAS NOT FAMILIAR
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WITH THE NOBLEMAIRE PRINCIPLE, BUT WOULD STUDY IT CAREFULLY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE SYSTEM NOW USED.

L. ECONOMIC ISSUES - PAWLAK THOUGHT THE POLISH POSITION WOULD NOT BE VERY FAR FROM THAT OF THE US ON THE QUESTION OF CIEC FOLLOW-UP. HE AGREED THAT TIME WILL PROBABLY NOT PERMIT THE RESUMED 31ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO GO BEYOND A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE CIEC, AND THE POLES WOULD RESIST EFFORTS TO MAKE SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS OF CIEC'S UNRESOLVED ISSUES. HE SAID SOME DIFFERENCES MAY ARISE AS A RESULT OF DIFFERENT IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS, BUT HE HOPED THESE WOULD NOT BE SERIOUS. HE ALSO HOPED THERE WOULD BE NO BILATERAL DIFFERENCES ON THE OMNIBUS ASSESSMENT ITEM. HE SAID THE POLES WOULD PROBABLY CALL AGAIN FOR A UN STUDY ON REGIONAL ECONOMIC TRENDS, AN IDEA INITIALLY INTRODUCED DURING THE 63RD SESSION OF ECOSOC. HE EXPLAINED THAT THIS PROPOSAL STEMS FROM A POLISH CONVICTION THAT AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC TRENDS IS LACKING, AS WELL AS MUCH-NEEDED BASIC DATA. ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, HE SAID POLAND AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES WOULD CONTINUE TO OBJECT TO ANY NEW MACHINERY TO ELABORATE A STRATEGY FOR THE THIRD DEVELOPMENT DECADE. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THESE COUNTRIES WOULD PRESS FOR A CAREFUL ELABORATION OF THIRD DECADE TARGETS, BASED ON THE UNFINISHED WORK OF THE SECOND DECADE AND SOME RECENT STUDIES (E.G. THE CLUB OF ROME) ON GLOBAL RESOURCE DEPLETION.

COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THIS EXCHANGE PROBABLY PRODUCED

LITTLE IN THE WAY OF CLOSER AGREEMENT ON MAJOR UN ISSUES,
IT DID REVEAL A MEASURE OF GOODWILL ON THE POLISH SIDE
AND A WILLINGNESS TO TALK OPENLY ABOUT MULTILATERAL
MATTERS. PWALAK, AS ALWAYS, WAS PLEASANT AND FORTHCOMING.
HE MAKES NO SECRET OF THE LIMITED FLEXIBILITY ENJOYED BY
THE POLES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUM. AT THE SAME TIME,
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HOWEVER, HE WOULD PROBABLY ARGUE FOR MODERATE POSITIONS
WITHIN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT AND AMONG WARSAW PACT
DELEGATIONS. WE CONCLUDE THAT THIS EXERCISE WAS USEFUL,

AND WE WOULD RECOMMEND ADDITIONAL CONSULTATIONS WITH
PAWLAK AT USUN AND IN THE DEPARTMENT (IO) DURING OR
AFTER THE FORTHCOMING UNGA. END COMMENT.
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